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Europeans Face the World Divided

Many question national influence and obligations to allies, but share desire for greater EU role in global affairs

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Europeans Face the World Divided

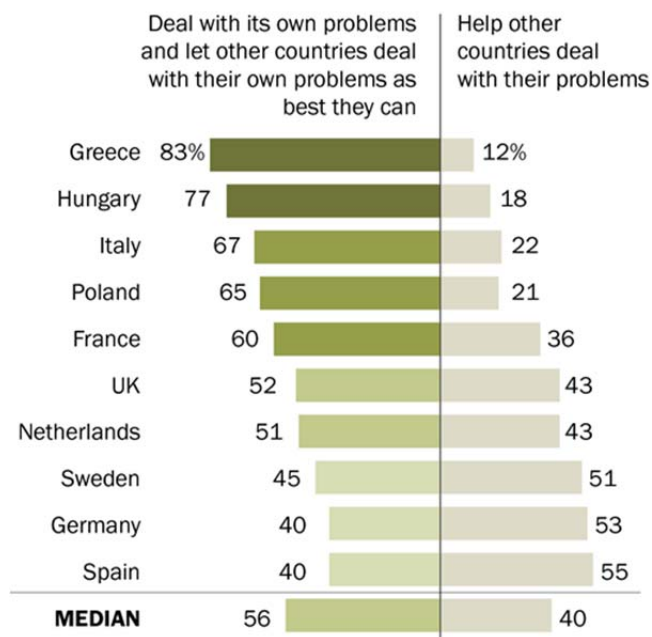
Many question national influence and obligations to allies, but share desire for greater EU role in global affairs

In the wake of prolonged economic stagnation, a massive influx of refugees, terrorist attacks and a strategic challenge posed by Russia, many Europeans are weary – and perhaps wary – of foreign entanglements, according to a new Pew Research Center survey. Views of their respective countries' place in the world vary widely, but few see the past decade as a time of growing national importance. And across the continent publics are divided: Many favor turning inward to focus on domestic issues, while others question whether commitments to allies should take precedence over national interests.

Yet Europeans have not completely turned their backs on the world. Although deeply critical of how the European Union has handled the refugee crisis, the economy and Russia, they acknowledge the Brussels-based institution's rising international prominence and want it to take a

Many Europeans focused on their own country's problems

Our country should ...



Note: Volunteered categories "Both" and "Neither" not shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29.

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more active role in world affairs. Involvement in the international economy is also widely supported and Europeans generally feel an obligation to help developing nations.

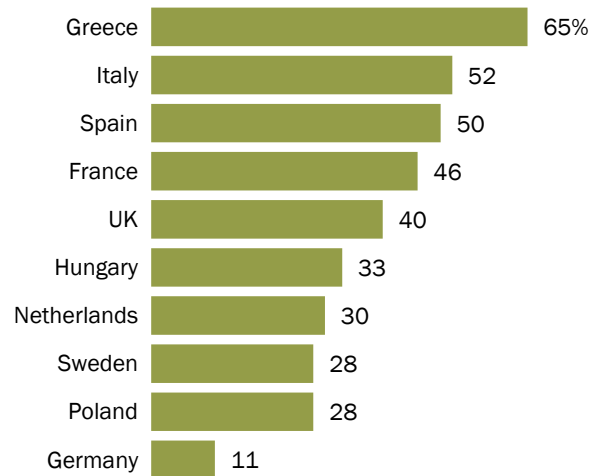
In seven of 10 EU nations, half or more of the public believes that their country should deal with its own problems and let other nations fend for themselves as best they can. In five countries, roughly half or more believe that in foreign policy their government should follow its own national interests, even when its allies strongly disagree. Notably, those who believe their government should first focus on national problems are far more likely to favor pursuing national interests regardless of the opinion of the country's international partners.

Waning international confidence afflicts a number of European societies. Only the Germans and the Poles believe their countries play a more important role as a world leader today compared to a decade ago. And pluralities of Greeks, Italians, Spanish and French say their countries are less prominent today, not more.

At the same time, Europeans are quite clear that they want the EU to play a more active international role in the future. A median of 74% across the 10 countries surveyed in Europe support Brussels being more globally engaged. Notably, in Greece, Italy, Spain and France majorities or pluralities believe their nations have lost global influence, and in each of these nations more than three-quarters favor the EU taking on more responsibility around the world.

Some nations' influence seen in decline

Our country plays a less important role in the world today compared to 10 years ago



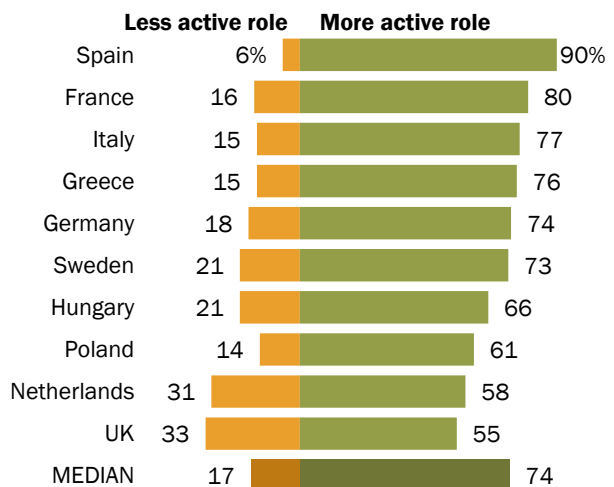
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q31a.

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Broad support for a more active EU

Do you think the EU should play a __ in world affairs than it does today?



Note: Volunteered categories "About the same" and "No role" not shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q39.

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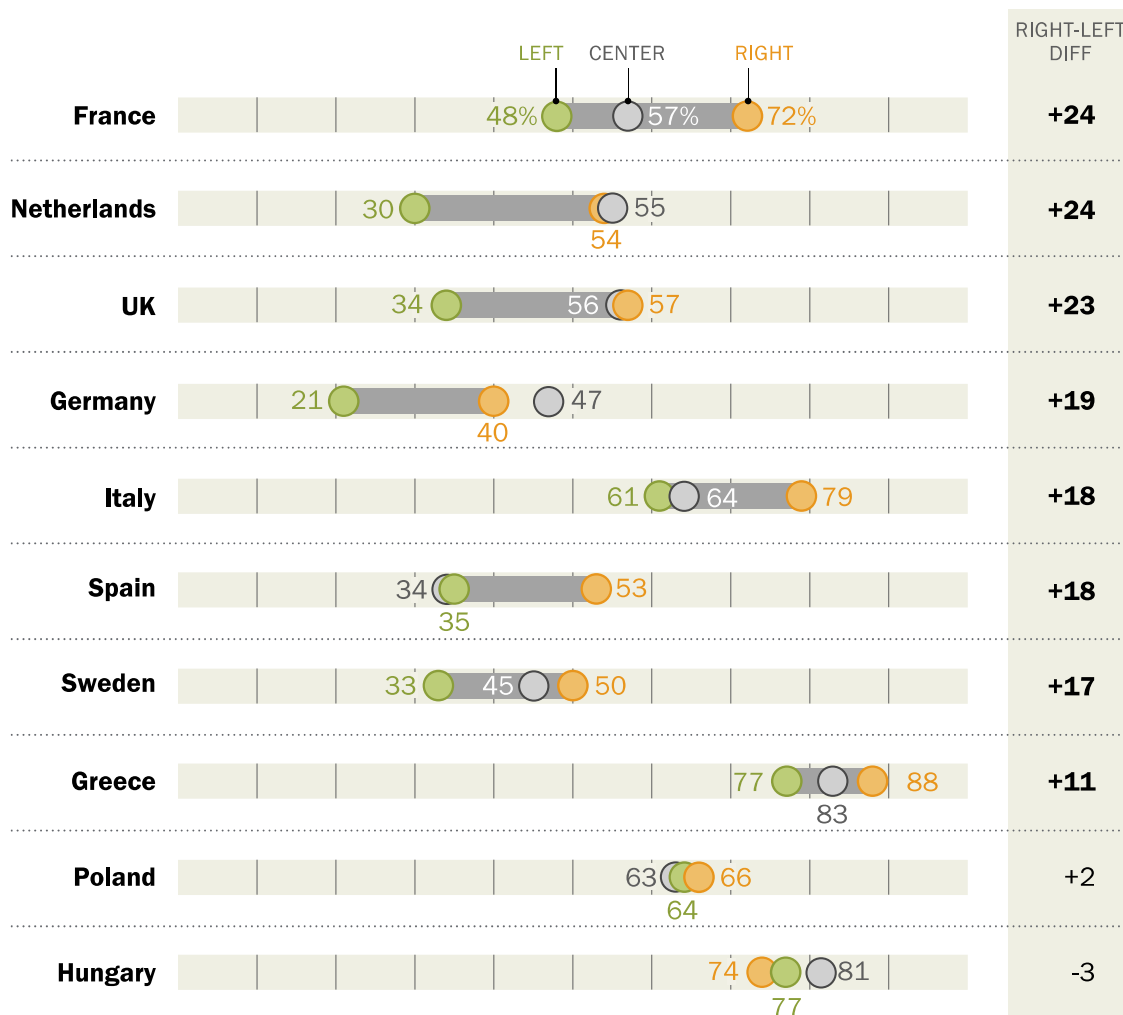
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These are among the key findings from a new survey by Pew Research Center, conducted in 10 EU nations and the United States among 11,494 respondents from April 4 to May 12, 2016. The EU portion of this survey covers countries that account for 80% of the member nations' combined population and 82% of the EU-28 gross domestic product.

Views of global engagement divide along ideological and party lines in many of the surveyed publics. In most countries people on the right of the political spectrum are much more likely than

Those on political right more likely to favor focusing on domestic issues

Our country should deal with its own problems and let other countries deal with their own problems as best they can



Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29.

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those on the left to say their nation should focus on domestic problems, not help others. And in six of the 10 countries polled people on the right are more likely than those on the left to believe that their government should pursue national interests in foreign policy even if allies strongly disagree.

This ideological division manifests itself in the views of supporters of right- and left-wing parties. Fully 85% of Euroskeptic United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) adherents favor focusing on national problems and letting others fend for themselves. Just 39% of Labour Party supporters agree. In France, 83% of those who identify with the right-wing National Front are inward looking, compared with 48% of Socialist Party supporters. In Germany, 65% of those who have a favorable view of the Euroskeptic Alternative for Germany take a nation-first stance. Meanwhile, 32% of Germans who identify with the Social Democratic Party hold this view.

Similarly, 85% of UKIP supporters, but just 39% of Labour adherents believe the British government should follow national interests in international affairs even if UK allies strongly disagree. Fully 68% of National Front supporters in France say Paris should pursue national interests in foreign policy irrespective of the opinion of France's allies. Only 46% of ruling Socialist Party adherents agree.

"France First" or "Britain First" sentiment does not mean Europeans are unmindful of international challenges. Overwhelming majorities voice the view that the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS poses a major threat to their countries. Yet there is little support for boosting national defense spending (a median of just 33% across the 10 EU countries are in favor) and a reluctance (a median of only 41%) to use overwhelming military force to defeat terrorism.

Nor are all Europeans increasingly isolationist in any traditional sense of the word. The Germans and the Swedes in particular are outward looking and committed to multilateralism to a degree not found in France, Greece, Hungary, Italy or Poland. Nation-first sentiment is largely unchanged in the countries where this question on whether to deal with a country's own problems or help other countries deal with their problems was also asked six years ago. Europeans have a sense of obligation to help those in developing nations: In seven of 10 countries half or more of the public supports increasing foreign aid. Similarly, in seven of 10 nations half or more voice the view that global economic engagement is a good thing for their nation.

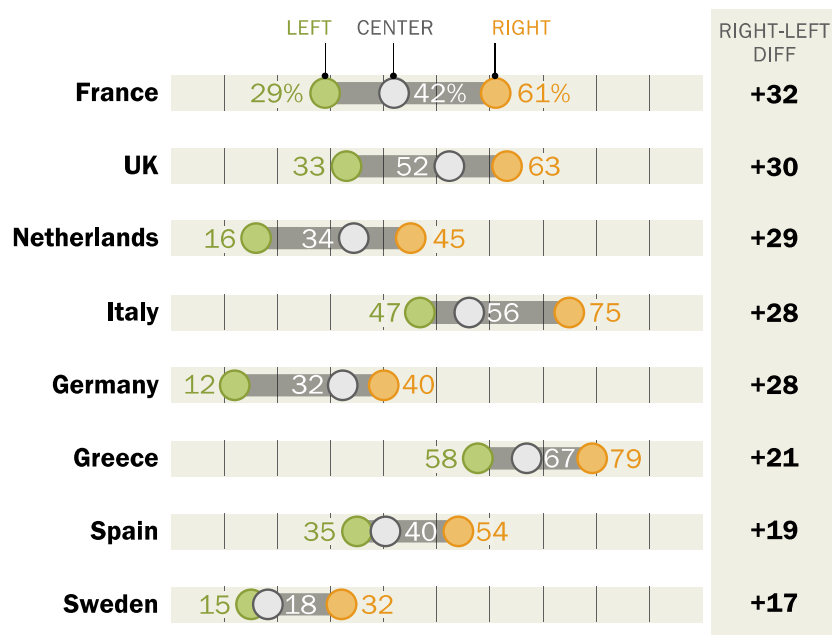
Europeans agree on top threats

Among eight potential threats asked about in the survey, Europeans clearly see ISIS as the top danger to their countries. Roughly seven-in-ten or more in every country surveyed say that ISIS is a major threat, with the greatest concern coming from the Spanish (93%) and French (91%). (Deadly terrorist attacks hit the major European capitals of Paris and Brussels just months before this survey was conducted.) Europeans are also troubled by global climate change. More than half in all 10 countries polled say that climate change is a major menace, with 89% of Spanish and 84% of Greeks saying this. Many Europeans also say global economic instability and cyberattacks are major problems.

On the issue of refugees from countries such as Iraq and Syria, there are sharp divides. In Poland, Hungary, Greece and Italy people are much more concerned about the refugee crisis as a threat compared with publics in the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden. But there is also a divide within nations by political ideology. In eight European countries, those on the political right are more likely than those on the left to express concern about the refugee problem. This is most evident in France, where 61% on the right say the large number of refugees leaving the Middle East is a major threat to France, compared with only 29% who say this on the left.

Right more worried than left about refugee threat

A large number of refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria is a major threat to the country



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22g.

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Mixed views on promoting human rights, some support for foreign aid

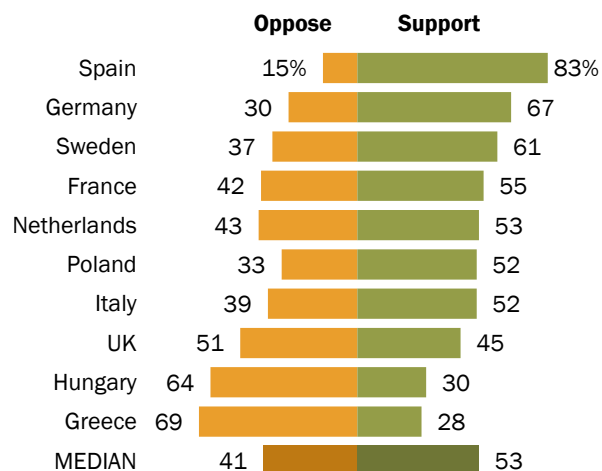
On the role of human rights in making foreign policy, opinions vary considerably across the 10 nations surveyed. More than half of those polled in Spain, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands say human rights should be a top foreign policy priority. In contrast, Hungarians, Greeks, Poles and Italians tend to believe that while human rights are important, many other foreign policy goals matter more. Public opinion is roughly divided on this issue in the UK and France. In most nations, people on the political left put a greater emphasis on the importance of human rights than people on the political right.

Europeans tend to favor increasing foreign aid to developing countries. Half or more express this view in seven nations. The exceptions are Greece (69% oppose), Hungary (65%) and the UK (51%). And support for increasing foreign aid is higher on the ideological left in five of the 10 nations.

There is even greater support for increasing domestic companies' investment in developing nations (a median of 76% across the 10 nations back this idea) and importing more goods from developing countries (a median of 64%).

On balance, Europeans favor increasing foreign aid to developing countries

Would you __ increasing foreign aid to developing countries?



Source: 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q46a.

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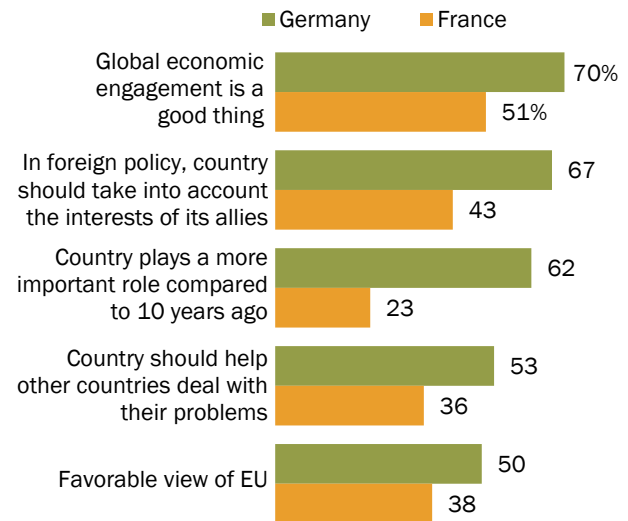
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The German-French divide

More than a half century after the signing of the Élysée Treaty that called for a common stance between France and what was then West Germany on a range of issues, a profound gulf exists in how the German and French people see their respective places in the world. Germans are confident about their nation's role on the international stage. They are outward looking and committed to multilateralism and engagement in the world economy. The French are downbeat about France's stature, inward looking and wary of globalization and cooperation with their allies.

A majority of Germans think their country plays a greater role in the world today than it did a decade ago. But a plurality of French believe France has lost prominence on the world stage. More than half of Germans assert that their country should help other nations deal with their problems. A majority of French say their country should deal with its own problems first and let other countries fend for themselves. Roughly two-thirds of Germans believe that Berlin should take into consideration the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises. But about half of French say that in foreign policy Paris should follow national interests, even if its allies strongly disagree. Half of Germans hold a favorable opinion of the EU, yet only 38% of the French agree. And seven-in-ten Germans say their involvement in the global economy is good for Germany, while just 51% of French say the same about France.

Germans more supportive of global engagement than the French



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q10c, Q29, Q31a, Q32 & Q43.

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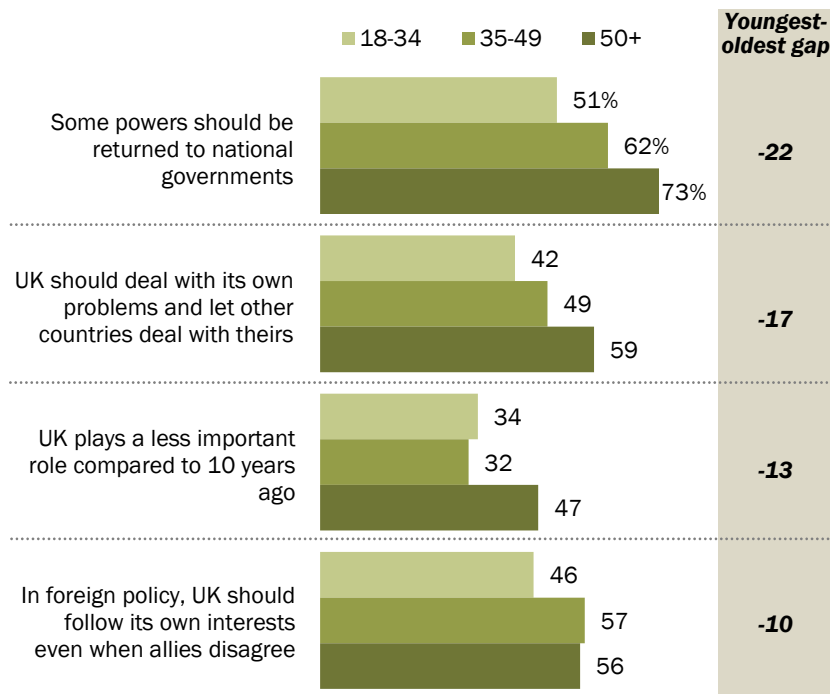
UK ambivalence

The June 23 British vote on whether to remain in or leave the European Union, known as Brexit, is just the latest example of long-running British ambivalence about membership in the Brussels-based institution. Many British voice a wariness of global engagement that belies the UK's history as a major player on the world stage.

Roughly half the British (52%) believe that the UK should deal with its own problems and let other nations deal with their own problems as best they can. And a similar proportion (54%) says the UK should follow its own national interests even when its allies strongly disagree. Regardless of whether Brexit is approved, 65% of the British public believes that [some EU powers](#) should be returned to the British government. Some of this global circumspection may reflect the fact that four-in-ten British think the UK plays a less important part in the world today than it did a decade ago, compared with two-in-ten who believe it plays a more important role.

There is a prominent generational divide among the British on many of these issues. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) of older British – ages 50 and above – believe the UK should focus on dealing with its own problems. Just 42% of younger British (ages 18 to 34) agree. And 56% of older British believe that the UK should follow its own national interests even when its allies disagree, while only 46% of younger British concur. More than seven-in-ten of older British (73%) want to bring some EU powers back to London, but only 51% of younger British express that desire. And 47% of those ages 50 and older think the UK plays less of a role in world affairs today, while just 34% of those ages 18 to 34 hold this downbeat view.

Younger, older Brits divided on global engagement



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29, Q31a, Q32 & Q49.

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Both sides of the Atlantic turn inward

In how they see their country's place in the world, people on both sides of the Atlantic tend to be inward looking, and many question their country's importance in world affairs. Americans, however, are much more pessimistic about the benefits of global economic engagement. (For an in-depth look at how Americans view their place in the world, see this recent [Pew Research Center survey](#).)

A median of 56% across the 10 EU nations surveyed and 57% of Americans believe their country should deal with its own problems and let other nations deal with theirs as best they can. But while this nation-first sentiment has seen little change in recent years in Europe, it has grown by 11 percentage points since 2010 in the U.S. The Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Poles and French are all more inward looking than the Americans. The Swedes, Germans and Spanish are far less so.

In the U.S., 46% voice the view that their country is less important today than it was a decade ago. Among Europeans, a median of 37% share this view. But European opinions vary widely: While 62% of Germans see their country as more important, only 19% of Italians and 17% of Greeks are more confident in their homeland.

European and American views on global engagement

% who say ...

	Country should deal with its own problems	Country is less important than it was 10 years ago*	Global economic engagement is a bad thing
Greece	83%	65%	57%
Hungary	77	33	34
Italy	67	52	44
Poland	65	28	27
France	60	46	45
UK	52	40	29
Netherlands	51	30	24
Sweden	45	28	25
Spain	40	50	39
Germany	40	11	24
MEDIAN	56	37	32
U.S.	57	46	49

*Question wording in U.S.: "Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did 10 years ago?" Question wording in Europe: "Do you think (survey country) plays a more important role in the world today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role or about as important a role in the world as it did 10 years ago?"

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29, Q31a & Q43. U.S. survey conducted April 12-19, 2016.

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The greatest difference in views between Americans and Europeans involves the economy: 49% of Americans say global economic engagement is bad for their country, but 32% of Europeans view such involvement negatively. Only the Greeks see international economic engagement as a worse thing than Americans do.

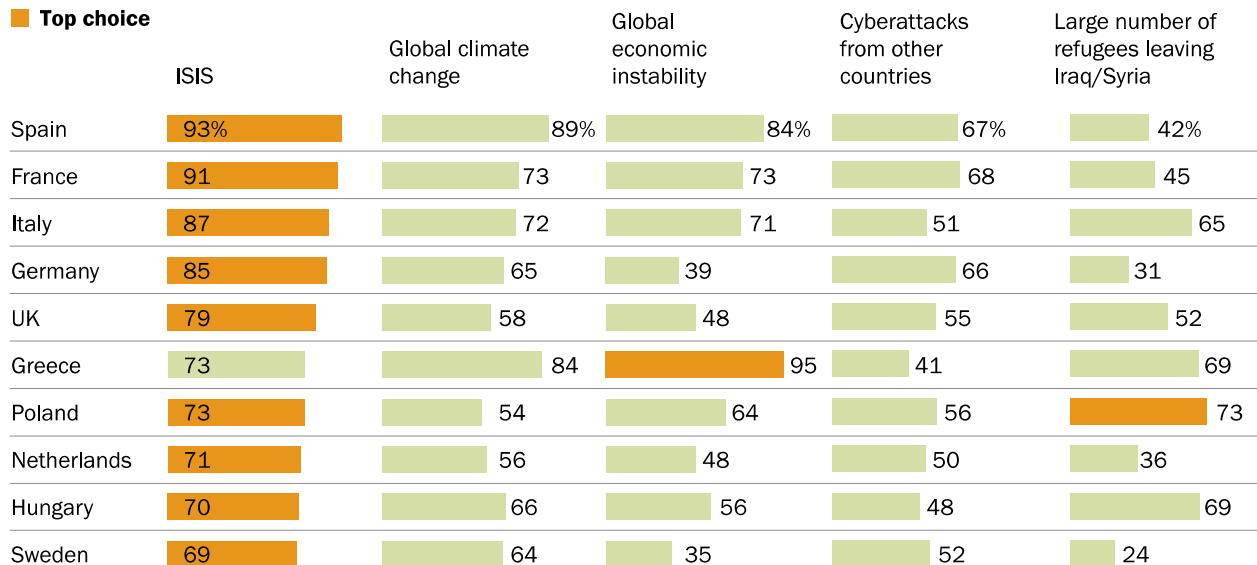
1. Europeans see ISIS, climate change as most serious threats

Among the myriad threats that Europe faces in 2016, the scourge of ISIS registers most strongly. In fact, ISIS is either tied or seen as the greatest threat in nine of the 10 European countries surveyed. But it is not the only high-profile threat felt in Europe. More than half in all European countries surveyed say global climate change is a major threat to their country, and many also cite global economic instability as a dire threat, especially in places hit hard by the euro crisis such as Greece and Spain. And many Europeans fear the threat of cyberattacks from other countries.

The refugee crisis also concerns many people across the European countries surveyed, but the threat assessment varies across the continent. Majorities in Poland, Hungary, Greece and Italy say that a large number of refugees leaving places like Iraq and Syria are a major threat to their countries, compared with only about a third or less of people in Germany and Sweden, both of which have taken in a [disproportionately large number of migrants](#). Within European countries, those on the political right or who support right-wing parties are more concerned about the refugee issue.

Europeans agree ISIS is a top threat

% saying each is a major threat to their country



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22d-h.

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Other threats such as tensions with Russia, China's emergence as a world power and U.S. power and influence are perceived as less dire, though most people still perceive them as at least minor threats. But when asked to choose between the U.S. and Asia as the region that is more important to Europe, politically and economically, many Europeans choose the U.S.

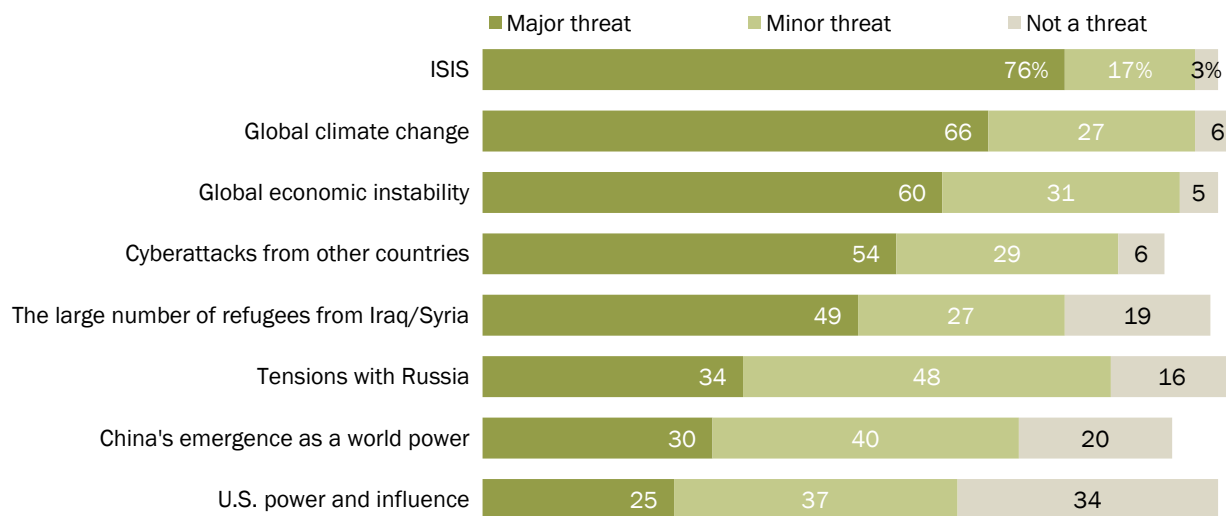
(For comparison data from the U.S., see [Chapter 3](#) of “Public Uncertain, Divided Over America’s Place in the World,” released May 5.)

Europeans overall see ISIS, climate change, economic instability and cyberattacks as major threats

Looking across the 10 European countries surveyed, a median of 76% say that the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS is a major threat to their country, with only two-in-ten saying that ISIS is either a minor threat (17%) or no threat at all (3%). Europeans arguably have reason to be wary: The past year has seen major terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels perpetrated by ISIS or its affiliates, and the level of alert across Europe remains high.¹

Europeans name ISIS, climate change and economic instability as top threats

Median saying __ is a ...



Note: Percentages are medians based on 10 European countries.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22a-h.

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¹ The survey was conducted before the downing of Egypt Air Flight 804 on May 16, which may or may not have been the work of extremists associated with ISIS.

After ISIS, the greatest threat named by Europeans among the eight issues tested is climate change. Just months after the signing of a historic climate accord in Paris, a median of 66% say global climate change is a major threat. In fact, more than half in every EU country surveyed say that climate change is a chief concern.

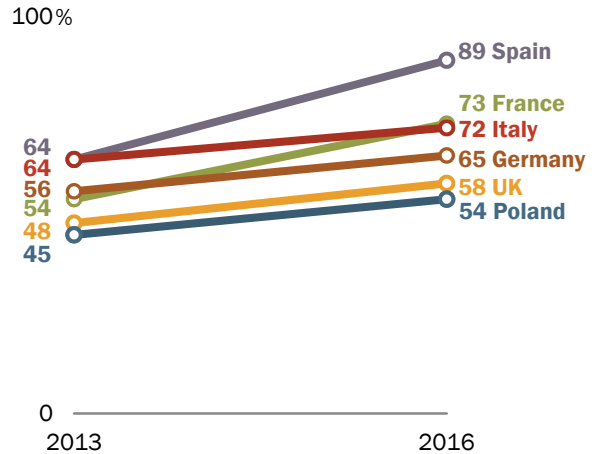
The perceived level of threat from climate change has increased from that of 2013 in six of seven countries surveyed where trends are available. The biggest increase comes from Spain, where 89% say that climate change is a major threat, up from 64% in 2013.

In six European countries, people on the left are more likely than those on the right to name climate change as a major threat to their country. For example, 70% of those who identify themselves as on the left of the political spectrum in the Netherlands say that global warming is a major threat to their country, compared with only 45% who say this on the political right. However, this pattern is reversed in Italy.

Global economic instability ranks third on the list of threats in Europe, with a median of 60% citing it as a major threat. However, the perceived threat in each country differs substantially depending on the economic situation there. In Greece, which has suffered greatly from the euro crisis, fully 95% name economic instability as a major threat. And majorities in Spain (84%), France (73%), Italy (71%), Poland (64%) and Hungary (56%) agree. However, only 39% in Germany and 35% in

Worries about global climate change have increased since 2013

Global climate change is a major threat to our country



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown in countries surveyed in both 2013 and 2016.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22d.

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Many left-leaning Europeans see climate threat as more dire

Global climate change is a major threat to our country

	Left %	Center %	Right %	Right-left Diff
Netherlands	70	59	45	-25
Germany	76	63	58	-18
France	82	75	65	-17
UK	71	55	55	-16
Sweden	72	63	62	-10
Spain	93	91	85	-8
Greece	87	86	84	-3
Poland	56	59	56	0
Hungary	64	67	66	+2
Italy	64	72	78	+14

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22d.

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Sweden, two countries in which the economic crisis did not hit as hard, name economic uncertainty as a major threat.

The threat of cyberattacks also worries many people in Europe. Half or more in eight of the 10 European countries surveyed say attacks over the internet from other countries represent a major threat.

Refugee issue divides Europe geographically and politically

Overall, a median of 49% across Europe say the large number of refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria are a major threat. But this median masks dramatic differences within the countries surveyed. For example, in Poland and Hungary, both countries where right-leaning governments have made it a point to slow the flow of migrants to their countries, 73% and 69% respectively say the refugee issue is a major threat to them. In Poland this level of worry ties ISIS as the top threat among the eight tested.

However, in some countries relatively few people see the threat as major. This includes around a third or less in the Netherlands (36%), Germany (31%) and Sweden (24%), the latter of which has taken in an [outsized number of child migrants](#) relative to other European countries.

In the UK, roughly half (52%) say the large number of refugees leaving Iraq and Syria is a major threat to their country.

The divide on the refugee issue is not just a matter of location. Political orientation also plays a key role in the threat assessment. In eight of the 10 European countries surveyed, those on the political right are more concerned about the refugee threat than those on the political left. In France, 61% of those who put themselves on the right side of the spectrum say the refugees coming from the Middle East are a major threat, compared with only 29% on the political left. Double-digit differences between right and left are also found in the UK, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Greece, Spain and Sweden.

As would be expected based on the ideological divides, those Europeans who support or have a favorable view of right-wing, generally Euroskeptic and anti-migrant parties are more likely to see the refugee issue as a major threat. For example, in the UK, 87% of supporters of UKIP say that the refugee issue is a major threat, compared with 61% of Conservatives and 35% of Labour supporters. And in France, 86% of supporters of the National Front say refugees are a major threat, compared with only 52% of supporters of the Republicans and 30% of Socialist Party adherents. Similar divisions are found between PiS and PO in Poland.

In countries where major right-wing, anti-immigrant parties exist but there are not enough data to analyze party supporters, there are still differences on the refugee issue by *favorability* toward those parties. For example, among those Germans with a very or somewhat favorable view of the AfD (Alternative for Germany) 63% see the movement of refugees as a major threat, compared with 26% of Germans who have an unfavorable view of AfD. Similar divisions are seen between those with favorable views of the Swedish Democrats in Sweden, the PVV in the Netherlands and the Lega Nord (LN) in Italy, and those who view these parties unfavorably.

Additionally, there is an educational split on this question. Those with a lower level of education generally are more likely to see the refugee crisis as a major threat compared with those who are more-educated. For example, in the UK, among those with only a secondary education, 62% see the refugee issue as a major threat, compared with only 30% among the more highly educated cohort (postsecondary education or more).

Those with less education more likely to see refugees as a threat

A large number of refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria is a major threat to our country

	Less education	More education	Diff
	%	%	
UK	62	30	-32
Netherlands	42	24	-18
Sweden	29	13	-16
France	49	36	-13
Germany	38	27	-11
Spain	45	36	-9

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN's International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is post-secondary or above.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22g.

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Russia, China and U.S. seen as less of a threat to Europeans

Overall, the threat of tensions with Russia, China's emergence as a world power and the United States' power and influence are seen as lesser threats to most Europeans. Medians of only around one-in-three or less of Europeans name these as major threats. But there are some noticeable exceptions.

For instance, 71% of Poles say that tensions with Russia are a major threat, a far greater percentage than any of the other countries surveyed. In the past year, there have been multiple examples of Russian aircrafts [threatening NATO allies](#), and the expansion of U.S. missile defense in Poland (and Romania) is a [major geopolitical issue](#). Meanwhile, many Eastern Europeans are probably still thinking about the 2014 annexation of Crimea by Russia and the continuing conflict in eastern Ukraine.

Europeans generally see Russia, China and U.S. as low-level threats

% saying each is a major threat to their country

	Tensions with Russia	China's emergence as a world power	U.S. power and influence
Poland	 71%	 47	 25
Spain	 39	 56	 42
Italy	 34	 47	 21
France	 34	 43	 28
Sweden	 34	 18	 12
Netherlands	 33	 21	 19
Germany	 31	 28	 25
UK	 28	 31	 24
Greece	 26	 25	 43
Hungary	 23	 23	 23

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q22a-c.

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Most Europeans see U.S. as more important than Asia

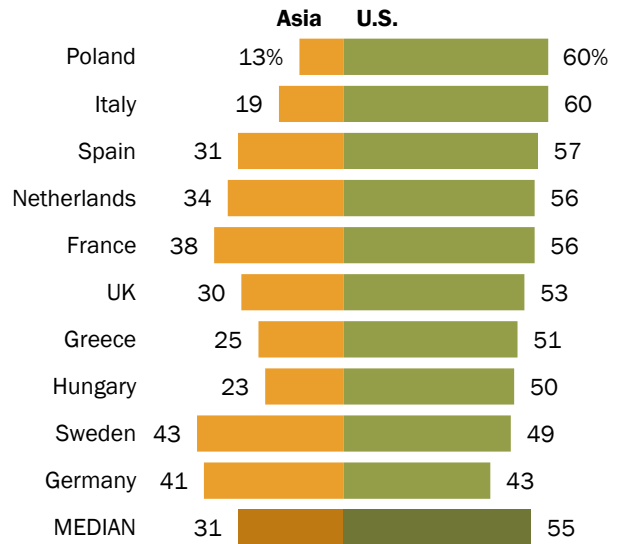
When asked whether the U.S. or the nations of Asia are more important to Europe, a median of 55% across 10 European countries name the U.S. as more important, while 31% say the nations of Asia. This is [similar](#) to the 52% of Americans who chose Europe over the nations of Asia (32%).

In all, half or more in eight of the 10 EU nations surveyed say the U.S. is more important than Asia. The countries most in favor of political and economic ties with the U.S. over Asia are Italy and Poland (both 60%). Notably, the only two countries that are more split on the issue are the more economically sound northern European countries of Sweden and Germany. Germany in particular is among China's [largest trading partner](#) and [HSBC declared](#) that “over the long term, we expect Germany’s import and export bases to become more diversified geographically, with South and South East Asian countries taking an increasing share of the German market.”

Interestingly, there are ideological gaps on this issue. Generally, those on the right end of the political spectrum say the U.S. is more important for Europe than do those on the political left. For example, in France, 68% of those on the right favor the U.S. over Asia, compared with only 48% on the left.

Which is more important to Europe, U.S. or nations of Asia?

Which area do you think is more important to Europe?



Note: Volunteered category “Equally important” not shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q53.

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Ideological right in Europe say U.S. more important than Asia

The U.S. is more important to Europe than Asia

	Left	Center	Right	Right-left Diff
	%	%	%	
France	48	53	68	+20
Greece	40	57	59	+19
Sweden	36	51	55	+19
UK	43	55	59	+16
Spain	54	51	69	+15

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q53.

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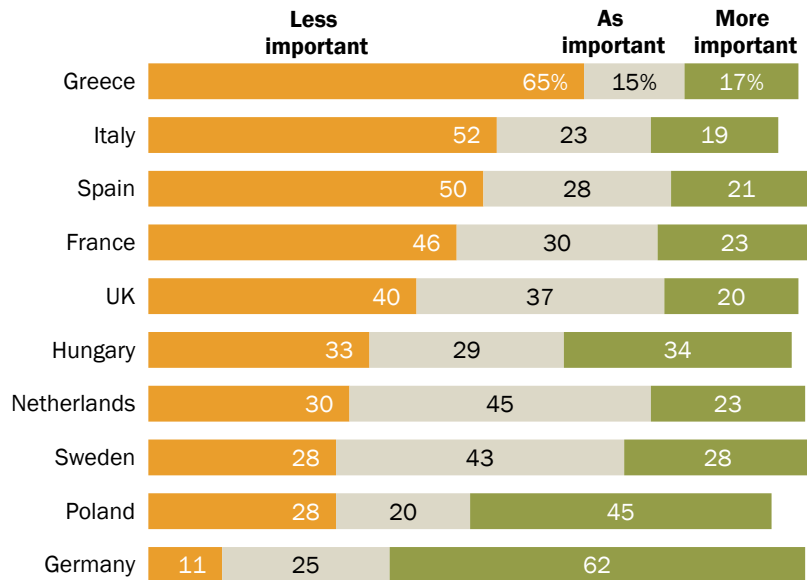
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2. Europeans question global engagement

Some Europeans are experiencing a crisis of confidence about their nations' role in the world. Among countries surveyed, only in Germany and Poland do a majority or plurality (62% and 45% respectively) believe their country plays a more important role in the world today compared with 10 years ago. About two-thirds (65%) of Greeks, roughly half of Italians (52%) and Spanish (50%), and a plurality of the French (46%) say their nations now play a less important part on the world stage. The Dutch (45%) and Swedes (43%) hold the view that their countries enjoy as important a role as they did a decade ago.

Many Europeans see waning global influence

Do you think our country plays a more important role in the world today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role or about as important a role in the world as it did 10 years ago?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q31a.

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A majority of Germans of all ages express the opinion that Germany is now more powerful. In Poland, about half the young (52%) see their country as more important, but only 37% of those ages 50 and older agree. In contrast, young, middle-aged and older people in Italy, Greece and Spain all believe that their nation is less important than it was 10 years ago.

Against a backdrop of a perceived decline in global stature many Europeans are looking inward. Fully 83% of Greeks, 77% of Hungarians, 67% of Italians and 65% of Poles believe their countries should deal with their own problems and let other nations deal with their own problems as best they can. The French (60%), British (52%) and Dutch (51%) tend to agree that their nations should just deal with their own problems.

Only in Spain (55%), Germany (53%) and Sweden (51%) do half or more support their country helping other nations. Just 12% of Greeks, 18% of Hungarians, 21% of Poles and 22% of Italians express the view that they should come to the assistance of others.

Ideology divides many Europeans on this issue of global engagement. In eight of 10 EU nations surveyed people on the right of the political spectrum are more likely than those on the left to say their country should focus on domestic problems rather than help others. This is a particularly strong view held by the Greek right (88%), the Italian right (79%) and the French right (72%). At the same time, those on the left in Germany (70%), Sweden (66%) and the Netherlands (65%) especially favor helping other countries with their problems.

Older Europeans also tend to be more inward looking than younger ones. Among those who favor dealing with their own problems, there is a 17-percentage-point generation gap in the UK between those ages 50 and older, who are more inward looking, and their countrymen ages 18 to 34. A similar 16-point divide exists in Sweden and the Netherlands, a 14-point division in Italy and a 12-point generation gap in Greece.

Support for multilateralism far from universal

A commitment to multilateralism was a bitter lesson Europe learned from two world wars. It was one of the reasons European nations were founding members of both the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But today, public commitment to this ideal is far from robust.

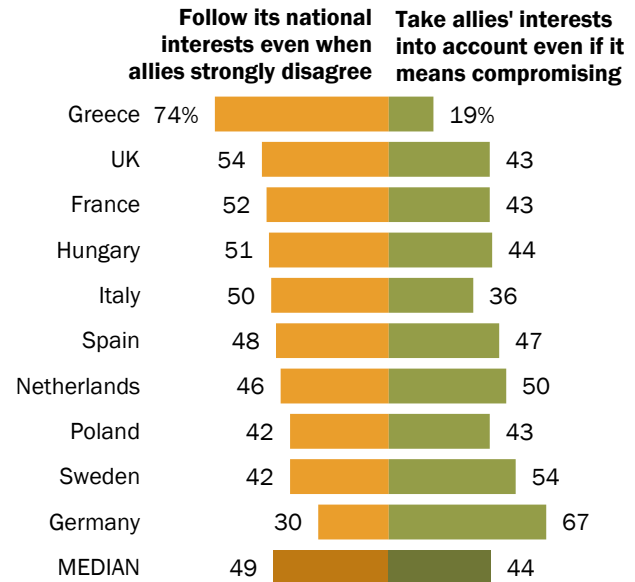
In just three of 10 EU nations does half or more of the public subscribe to the view that in foreign policy their country should take into account the interests of allies even if it means making compromises. Only Germans (67%) are strongly committed to such multilateralism. Just over half the Swedes (54%) and half the Dutch agree.

At the same time 74% of Greeks, 54% of the British, 52% of the French, 51% of Hungarians and 50% of Italians say that in foreign affairs it would best if their countries followed their own national interests, even when allies strongly disagree.

Again this is an ideologically divisive issue in a number of European societies. In Germany 79% of people on the left think Berlin should compromise with its allies, compared with 57% of Germans on the right. There is a similar left-right split of 21 points in the UK (59% to 38%) and 20 points in France (53% to 33%).

Europe divided on following national interests or compromising with allies

In foreign policy, our country should ...



Note: Volunteered category "Neither/Both equally" not shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q32.

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Left more in favor of multilateralism in certain EU countries

In foreign policy, our country should take into account the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises

	Left	Center	Right	Right-left Diff
	%	%	%	
Germany	79	69	57	-22
UK	59	42	38	-21
France	53	50	33	-20
Netherlands	64	47	47	-17
Hungary	57	44	40	-17

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q32.

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Despite criticism, aspirations for an influential EU

Europeans are dissatisfied with the European Union, which has responsibility for Europe's trade relations with the rest of the world and a growing role in European foreign policy. Yet a plurality of Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Dutch, Poles, Swedes and British believe that the EU plays a more important role in the world today than it did a decade ago. And by huge margins, in all the EU member states surveyed publics want the EU to play a more active role in world affairs than it does today.

A median of **just 51% hold a favorable view** of the Brussels-based institution. The most unhappy are the Greeks (27%), French (38%), British (44%) and Spanish (47%). And favorable opinion of the EU is down in five of the six nations surveyed in both 2015 and 2016.

Europeans are quite critical of the EU's current handling of the refugee situation, relations with Russia and European economic problems.

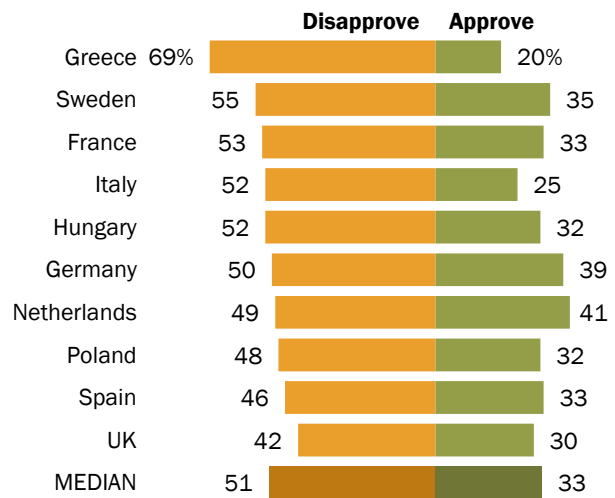
Overwhelming majorities disapprove of the EU's management of the refugee crisis. Fully 94% of Greeks, 88% of Swedes, 77% of Italians, and 75% of Spanish disapprove of the EU's efforts. Roughly seven-in-ten Hungarians, Poles, British and French take the same position.

Majorities or pluralities in all the EU member states surveyed disapprove of the job being done by the institution in dealing with Russia. The strongest criticism comes from Greece (69%), Sweden (55%), France (53%), Italy and Hungary (both 52%).

Europeans are divided about how to treat Russia going forward. About nine-in-ten Greeks believe it is more important to have a strong economic relationship with Russia than to be tough with Moscow on foreign policy disputes. Smaller majorities of Hungarians (67%),

Widespread disapproval of EU's policy on Russia

Do you __ of the way the EU is dealing with Russia?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50c.

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Germans (58%) and Italians (54%) agree. Swedes (71%) say being tough is more important, while other European countries are split.

Europeans are also unhappy with the EU's handling of economic problems. About nine-in-ten Greeks (92%) disapprove of how the EU has dealt with the issue. Roughly two-thirds of Italians (68%), French (66%) and Spanish (65%) similarly disapprove. (France and Spain are the two nations where the favorability of the EU has recently experienced the largest decline.) Majorities in Sweden (59%) and the UK (55%) – the latter includes 84% of UKIP supporters – also disapprove of the EU's job in dealing with economic challenges. The strongest approval of Brussels' economic efforts is in Poland and Germany (both 47%).

At a time when Europeans are generally downbeat about the EU's recent international record, many see the EU playing a larger role in the world. Roughly half the Dutch (51%) and the Swedes (49%) say the EU is more important today than it was a decade ago. And a plurality of Germans (46%), Hungarians (43%), Poles (42%), Italians (41%) and British (39%) agree.

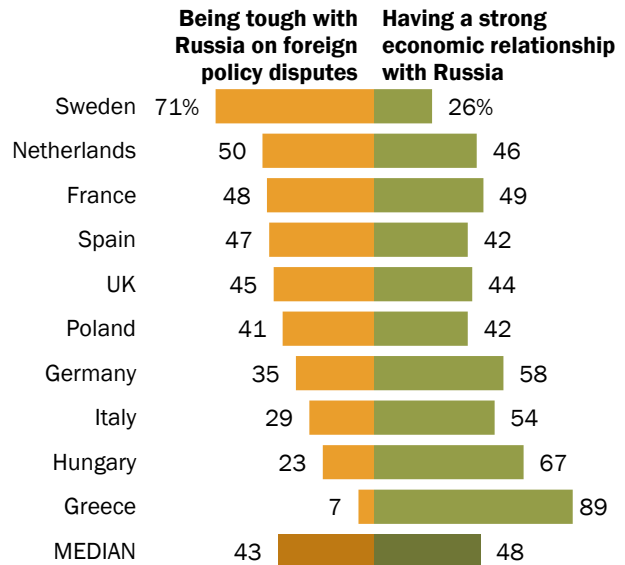
In several societies it is young people (those ages 18 to 34) more than older people (those 50 and older) who see Brussels playing a larger international role today. Such a generational gap exists in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and the UK.

And a median of 74% of Europeans want the EU to take a more active international stance in the years ahead. Only in the UK (33%) and the Netherlands (31%) is there a sizable minority that favors the EU playing a less active role in the future.

Such public sentiments illustrate a contrast between a fairly negative assessment of the EU's handling of key problems and public hopes for the EU's future role in the world. This may in part be explained by people's idealism about the EU's potential. A 2014 Pew Research Center [survey](#) found that strong majorities in seven EU nations believed the EU promotes peace.

Wide divisions on Russian relations

Thinking about our relations with Russia, in your view, which is more important?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q54.

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Europeans are quite supportive of the United Nations. A median of 66% hold a favorable view of the New York-based international institution. This includes roughly eight-in-ten Swedes (82%), seven-in-ten Dutch (72%) and about two-thirds of the British (68%) and Germans (65%). Notably, just 41% of Greeks are positively disposed toward the UN, the lowest rating in Europe.

But the generally pro-UN sentiment is slipping in a number of EU nations. The recent high point in favorable rating for the UN was in 2011 in France, Spain and the UK. Since then support is down in all these countries.

Views of the UN do not neatly track with ideological orientation. People on the left in Germany are more likely than those on the right to hold a positive view of the UN. In France, Greece and Spain those on the right are more favorably disposed toward the organization.

There is also widespread European support for NATO, the post-World War II security alliance. A median of 59% say they have a favorable opinion of the multilateral institution (nine of the 10 European nations in the survey are members, Sweden is not). The strongest support is in the Netherlands (71%) and Poland (70%).

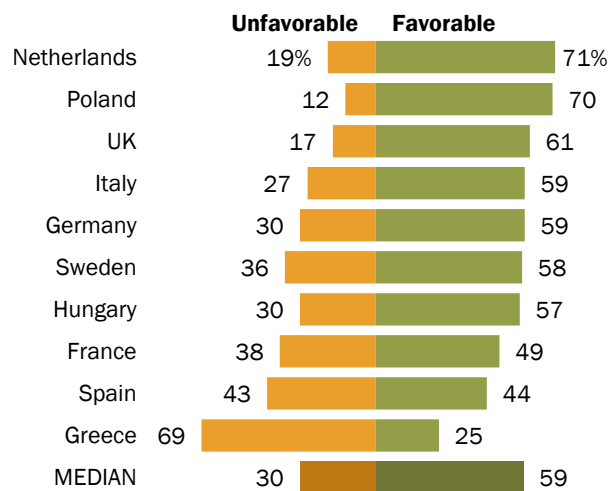
The lowest rating for the military partnership is in Greece (25%). There has been a drop-off in French backing, from 64% in 2015 to 49% in 2016, although this may be attributable to a rise in the number of people who express no opinion.

The Swedes have long debated joining NATO, and 58% have a favorable view of the organization. But the Swedish public is split on membership: 45% say they back the country becoming a NATO member, while 44% oppose such a move.

In most European countries surveyed there is not an overwhelming ideological difference of opinion regarding NATO. However the left-right splits are quite large in Sweden (72% favorable on the right, 35% on the left) and Spain (56% positive on the right, 27% on the left).

Most Europeans view NATO favorably

Views of NATO



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes survey. Q10e.

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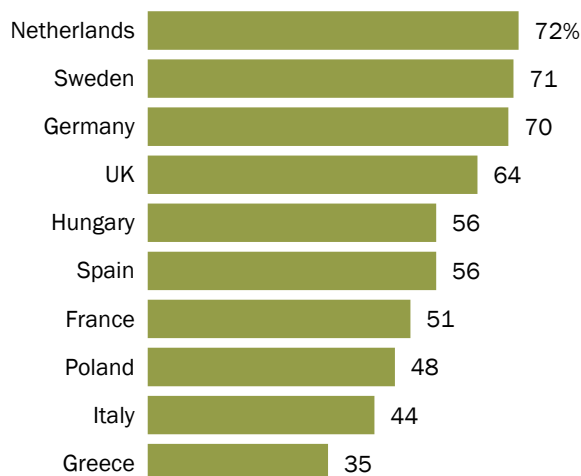
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European economies are deeply dependent on international commerce, and most Europeans have supported international trade in recent years. Roughly half or more of those in eight of the 10 EU nations surveyed believe their involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it provides their country with new markets and opportunities for growth. The Dutch (72%), Swedes (71%) and Germans (70%) are the strongest supporters of such engagement. By contrast, less than half of Italians (44%) and only about a third of Greeks (35%) are positive about their countries' role in the world economy.

Those with a better education are significantly more likely than the less-educated to think involvement in the global economy is a good thing in six of the EU countries surveyed. And the differences in opinion can be quite high: 28 points in the Netherlands, 20 points in Spain and 17 points in France.

Generally strong European support for economic engagement

Our country's involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it provides our country with new markets and opportunities for growth



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q43.

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3. Europeans disagree on promoting human rights, moderate support for development aid

Previous Pew Research Center [surveys](#) have found broad support for democratic principles in Europe, but the latest poll reveals less consensus on promoting human rights in the international arena. Among the 10 European nations surveyed, there are only four in which half or more say human rights should be a top priority for their country's foreign policy.

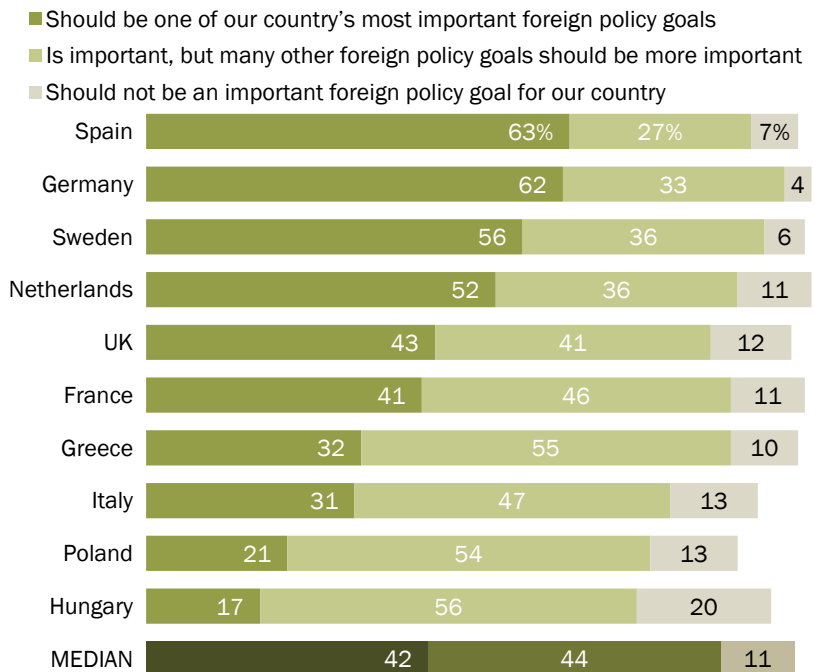
Opinions about economic relations with the developing world vary as well. Most respondents want their nation's companies to invest more in developing countries. There is also support for importing more goods from developing countries and increasing foreign aid, although opinions on these two issues vary across European publics. Overall, the desire to engage economically with the developing world is strongest in Spain, Sweden and Germany, while the Greeks, Hungarians and Italians are the most reluctant.

Human rights and foreign policy

European publics express widely divergent opinions about the importance of human rights in making foreign policy. In Spain, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands, half or more think improving human rights around the world should be one of their country's most important foreign policy priorities. In the United Kingdom and France, just over four-in-ten hold this view; similar shares say improving human rights is important, but that many other goals should be more important. The view that many other foreign policy objectives are more important

Mixed views on human rights as a foreign policy goal

Improving human rights around the world ...



Note: Volunteered category "None of the above" not shown.

Source: 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q45.

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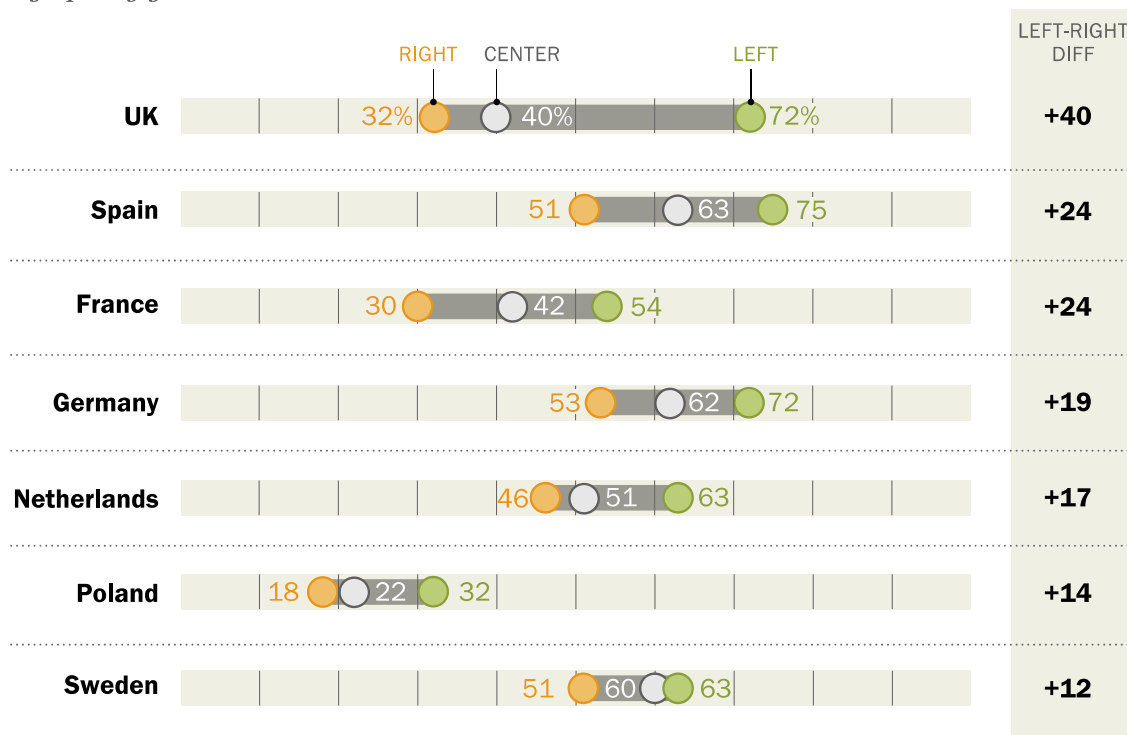
than human rights is the most common position in Hungary, Greece, Poland and Italy. Relatively few of those polled believe human rights should not be an important foreign policy goal at all, although one-in-five say this in Hungary.

There are deep ideological divisions on this issue, with those on the political left much more likely to consider human rights a top foreign policy priority. This is especially true in the UK, where 72% of those who place themselves on the left of the ideological spectrum say improving human rights should be one of Britain's most important foreign policy goals, compared with just 32% of those on the right. Double-digit gaps between left and right are also found in six other nations.

As one might expect given these ideological differences, there are also significant divisions along partisan lines. For example, 47% of those who identify with the French Socialist Party say human rights should be one of the country's most important foreign policy priorities, but just 32% of Republicans and 24% of National Front supporters agree.

Sharp ideological differences on human rights and foreign policy

Improving human rights around the world should be one of our country's most important foreign policy goals



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q45.

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Relations with developing countries

A median of 76% across the 10 EU nations surveyed say they support companies from their country expanding investments in developing economies. Three-quarters or more back this idea in Spain, Sweden, Germany, the UK and the Netherlands. The only nation surveyed where less than half hold this view is Greece (47%).

In seven nations, those with higher incomes are especially likely to favor greater investment in the developing world, and in seven countries the same is true of respondents with higher levels of education.

There is also considerable support in several nations for importing more goods from the developing world. Seven-in-ten or more approve of this idea in five countries (a median of 64% approve across all 10 nations). However, 65% of Greeks and 50% of Italians oppose more imports, while Hungarians are closely divided (46% favor, 48% oppose).

In seven nations, half or more favor increasing foreign aid to developing countries (a median of 53% approve across the 10 nations). Support is particularly strong in Spain (83%), while 67% of Germans and 61% of Swedes also back increased foreign assistance. However, by a 51%-45% margin, the British public opposes more aid, and solid majorities hold this view in Greece (69%) and Hungary (64%).

People with higher levels of education consistently are more likely to support increasing aid to developing nations. Younger people also often express more support, and this is particularly true

Support for economic engagement with developing world, mixed views on aid

% who support ...

	Increasing domestic companies' investment in developing countries	Importing more goods from developing countries	Increasing foreign aid to developing countries
Spain	87%	72%	83%
Sweden	82	76	61
Germany	79	78	67
UK	79	76	45
Netherlands	78	85	53
Poland	74	46	52
France	67	56	55
Hungary	62	46	30
Italy	52	42	52
Greece	47	30	28
MEDIAN	76	64	53

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q46a-c.

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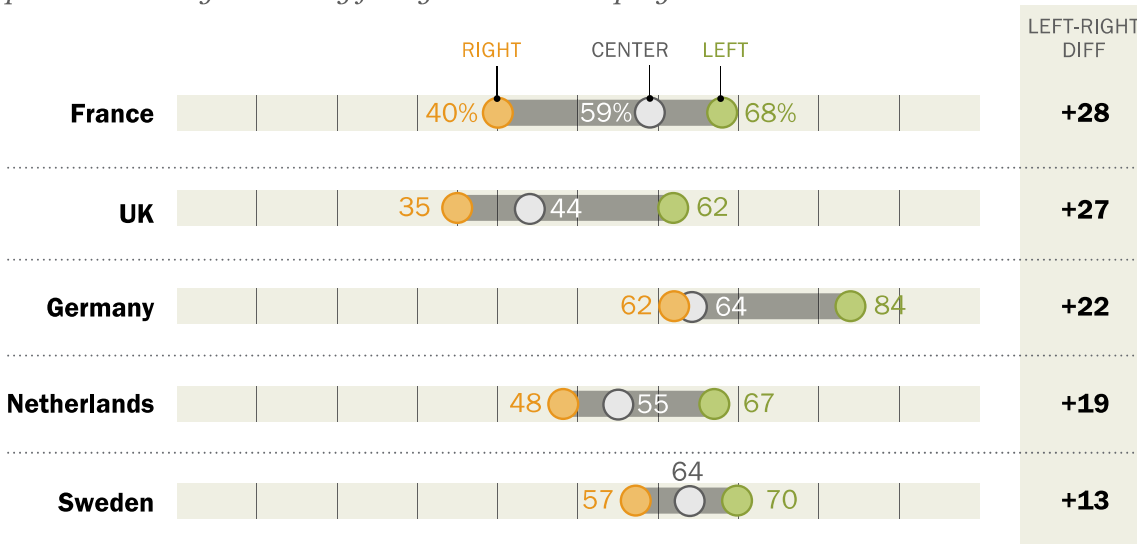
in the UK, where 66% of those under age 35 endorse increased aid, compared with 49% of 35- to 49-year-olds and 32% of people 50 and older.

Attitudes toward foreign aid are also linked to ideology. People who place themselves on the political left are more supportive of increasing aid than those on the right in five nations. In France, the UK and Germany, the left-right gap is more than 20 percentage points.

Similarly, those who identify with parties on the left are also more favorable toward foreign aid. For instance, while 60% of UK Labour supporters endorse higher levels of aid, just 37% of Conservatives and 19% of UKIP supporters agree.

More support on the left for foreign aid

Support our country increasing foreign aid to developing countries



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q46a.

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4. Europeans wary of hard power

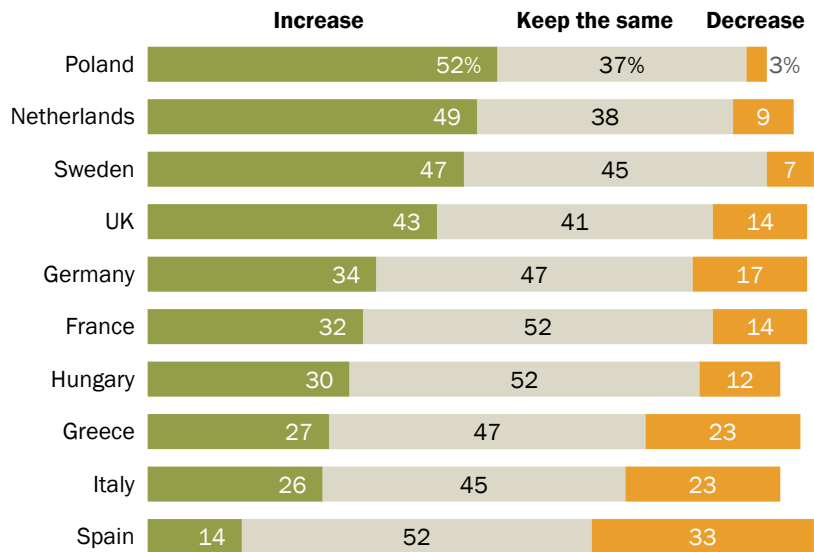
Europeans overall appear reluctant to support the use of hard power in international affairs. There is little backing for boosting defense spending and, despite overwhelming concern about the threat posed by ISIS, many believe that relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism only creates hatred that can lead to more terrorism.

Median **spending** on defense is 1.2% of gross domestic product among the EU nations surveyed (the United States spends 3.3%). This outlay ranges from 0.8% in Hungary to 2.6% in Greece, but in 2015 such expenditures were down in eight of the 10 nations surveyed. Only in Poland (52%), which spends 2.2% of its GDP on the military, and the Netherlands (49%), which spends 1.2%, does roughly half the public support increasing outlays on national defense. Despite **commitments** by their governments to boost military spending, around half the public in France (52%) and Spain (52%) want to keep defense spending the same as

it is today, as does a plurality in Germany and Greece (both 47%). A third of the public in Spain (33%) and about a quarter in Italy (23%) favors cutting military outlays.

Only Poles and Dutch favor boosting defense spending

Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or decrease it?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q40.

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A reticence to exercise hard power can also be seen in the lack of public support for the use of overwhelming military force to defeat terrorism. Despite large majorities in each society who say that ISIS is a major threat to their country, half or more in six of the 10 EU nations surveyed say relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. The Dutch (66%), Germans (64%) and Greeks (64%) in particular share a concern that a strong military response to terrorism will only worsen the problem. At the same time, roughly half of

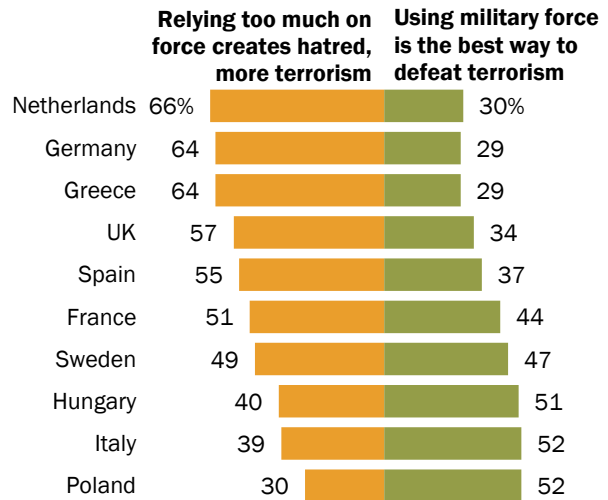
Poles (52%), Italians (52%) and Hungarians (51%) believe that using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism. Swedes are divided on the issue.

As might be expected, there is a deep ideological divide on this issue. About half or more of people on the right of the ideological spectrum in Italy, Sweden, France and Spain support exercising overpowering military might. At the same time, people on the left for the most part are far more concerned than those on the right that such use of force would spawn more terrorism.

Views on the efficacy of overwhelming force also differ along educational lines. Those with a secondary education or less are more likely than those with more than a secondary education to believe that the use of overwhelming force is the best way to defeat terrorism. This is particularly the case in the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, France and the UK.

Europeans at odds over use of force to defeat terrorism

Which statement comes closer to your own views?



Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q86.

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More-educated are less in favor of using force against terrorism

Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world

	Less education	More education	Diff
	%	%	
Netherlands	35	18	-17
Spain	42	26	-16
Sweden	52	37	-15
France	48	34	-14
UK	38	25	-13

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN's International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is post-secondary or above.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q86.

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Methodology

About the Pew Research Center's Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of TNS BMRB and Princeton Survey Research Associates International. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available on our [website](#).

For more detailed information on survey methods for this report, see here:

http://www.pewglobal.org/international-survey-methodology/?year_select=2016

For more general information on international survey research, see here:

<http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/>

Topline Questionnaire

Pew Research Center
Spring 2016 Survey
June 13, 2016 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our [international survey methods database](#).
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate topline for its Global Attitudes Surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- For more results from the U.S. survey conducted April 12-19, 2016, see [“Public Uncertain, Divided Over America’s Place in the World.”](#)
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2016 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q10c. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of _____. c. the European Union					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2016	11	42	18	9	20	100
	Spring, 2014	11	47	17	9	16	100
	Spring, 2013	10	40	19	7	24	100
	Spring, 2012	9	41	16	5	29	100
	Spring, 2011	15	40	16	6	23	100
	Spring, 2010	13	44	14	6	23	100
	Spring, 2009	14	42	15	8	22	100
	Spring, 2007	9	38	15	7	30	100
	Spring, 2004	7	32	17	9	35	100
	Summer, 2002	13	40	10	4	33	100
France	Spring, 2016	6	32	37	24	2	100
	Spring, 2015	8	47	32	13	0	100
	Spring, 2014	6	48	28	18	0	100
	Spring, 2013	5	36	38	20	0	100
	Spring, 2012	10	50	28	12	0	100
	Spring, 2011	14	49	26	11	0	100
	Spring, 2010	13	51	28	9	0	100
	Spring, 2009	12	50	28	9	0	100
	Spring, 2007	9	53	27	11	0	100
	Spring, 2004	12	57	22	9	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	8	42	38	10	2	100
	Spring, 2015	7	51	34	6	2	100
	Spring, 2014	7	59	27	4	2	100
	Spring, 2013	7	53	29	6	4	100
	Spring, 2012	12	56	27	4	1	100
	Spring, 2011	8	58	27	5	1	100
	Spring, 2010	11	51	28	7	3	100
	Spring, 2009	8	57	26	6	3	100
	Spring, 2007	12	56	24	6	2	100
	Spring, 2004	13	45	33	6	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	2	25	39	32	2	100
	Spring, 2014	3	31	35	30	2	100
	Spring, 2013	4	29	37	28	2	100
	Spring, 2012	5	32	33	29	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	8	53	27	10	2	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	9	49	25	14	4	100
	Spring, 2015	10	54	24	8	3	100
	Spring, 2014	5	41	34	16	4	100
	Spring, 2013	10	48	26	10	6	100
	Spring, 2012	10	49	25	10	6	100
	Spring, 2007	18	60	10	3	8	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	12	39	30	16	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	11	61	18	4	6	100
	Spring, 2015	9	63	19	3	6	100
	Spring, 2014	13	59	18	4	7	100
	Spring, 2013	8	60	24	4	5	100
	Spring, 2012	10	59	20	5	6	100
	Spring, 2011	14	60	16	3	7	100
	Spring, 2010	21	60	12	2	5	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	12	3	7	100
	Spring, 2007	23	60	10	1	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	13	34	30	19	4	100
	Spring, 2015	15	48	22	12	4	100
	Spring, 2014	8	42	34	14	3	100
	Spring, 2013	14	32	35	17	2	100
	Spring, 2012	18	42	24	14	2	100
	Spring, 2011	23	49	17	7	3	100
	Spring, 2010	15	62	15	3	4	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	14	2	6	100
	Spring, 2007	16	64	12	3	5	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	14	40	32	12	2	100
	Spring, 2007	16	43	26	11	4	100

		Q10c. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of _____. c. the European Union					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	15	29	23	25	7	100
	Spring, 2015	13	38	24	17	8	100
	Spring, 2014	12	40	22	19	7	100
	Spring, 2013	7	36	26	22	9	100
	Spring, 2012	9	36	26	20	8	100
	Spring, 2011	13	38	22	19	8	100
	Spring, 2010	9	40	21	21	10	100
	Spring, 2009	8	42	21	18	10	100
	Spring, 2007	10	42	21	16	10	100
	Spring, 2004	13	41	21	15	9	100

		Q10d. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of _____. d. the United Nations					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2016	19	45	18	11	7	100
	Spring, 2013	13	45	17	14	10	100
	Spring, 2012	16	42	17	12	13	100
	Spring, 2011	19	42	16	12	11	100
	Spring, 2009	18	43	16	13	10	100
	Spring, 2007	9	39	23	16	13	100
	Spring, 2006	15	36	19	19	11	100
	Spring, 2004	14	41	20	15	11	100
France	Spring, 2016	7	52	25	8	7	100
	Spring, 2013	8	55	27	9	0	100
	Spring, 2012	10	62	21	7	0	100
	Spring, 2011	14	62	18	5	0	100
	Spring, 2009	9	65	20	6	0	100
	Spring, 2007	9	57	26	7	0	100
	Spring, 2006	10	62	20	8	0	100
	Spring, 2004	10	57	24	6	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	8	57	24	3	8	100
	Spring, 2013	7	58	24	3	7	100
	Spring, 2012	12	61	22	2	4	100
	Spring, 2011	9	64	19	2	6	100
	Spring, 2009	6	59	23	4	7	100
	Spring, 2007	8	56	27	4	5	100
	Spring, 2006	13	55	21	4	7	100
	Spring, 2004	21	50	20	3	6	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	4	37	33	20	6	100
	Spring, 2013	2	34	37	21	6	100
	Spring, 2012	3	34	32	26	6	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	7	51	22	5	15	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	15	54	16	8	7	100
	Spring, 2013	11	56	15	5	11	100
	Spring, 2012	12	55	18	6	9	100
	Spring, 2007	13	54	19	4	11	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	15	57	16	6	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	8	59	11	2	20	100
	Spring, 2013	7	57	18	2	16	100
	Spring, 2012	12	59	15	2	10	100
	Spring, 2011	14	58	14	2	13	100
	Spring, 2009	10	62	10	2	16	100
	Spring, 2007	15	53	16	5	11	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	17	38	23	14	8	100
	Spring, 2013	14	36	29	15	6	100
	Spring, 2012	16	41	23	15	5	100
	Spring, 2011	22	44	19	10	5	100
	Spring, 2009	8	53	20	4	14	100
	Spring, 2007	10	53	18	9	10	100
	Spring, 2006	11	49	22	8	10	100

		Q10d. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of _____. d. the United Nations					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Sweden	Spring, 2016	34	48	14	2	2	100
	Spring, 2007	32	47	13	2	6	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	20	48	15	8	10	100
	Spring, 2013	13	51	16	8	11	100
	Spring, 2012	17	51	16	7	10	100
	Spring, 2011	21	52	14	4	10	100
	Spring, 2009	17	50	15	7	12	100
	Spring, 2007	11	47	23	8	10	100
	Spring, 2006	16	49	15	8	11	100
	Spring, 2004	22	52	14	4	7	100

		Q10e. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of _____. e. NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2016	12	41	18	7	21	100
	Spring, 2015	9	40	20	11	20	100
	Spring, 2013	9	40	17	10	24	100
	Spring, 2012	12	39	15	7	26	100
	Spring, 2011	14	40	17	7	22	100
	Spring, 2010	13	41	15	6	25	100
	Fall, 2009	11	42	14	10	23	100
France	Spring, 2016	4	45	28	10	13	100
	Spring, 2015	7	57	26	9	1	100
	Spring, 2013	6	52	29	12	1	100
	Spring, 2012	8	59	21	10	1	100
	Spring, 2011	10	60	23	7	1	100
	Spring, 2010	6	62	24	7	2	100
	Fall, 2009	12	59	20	7	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	5	54	26	4	11	100
	Spring, 2015	7	48	29	7	9	100
	Spring, 2013	5	54	27	3	10	100
	Spring, 2012	8	57	26	4	5	100
	Spring, 2011	6	54	29	4	7	100
	Spring, 2010	7	50	27	6	9	100
	Fall, 2009	14	59	18	4	4	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	2	23	40	29	6	100
	Spring, 2013	3	22	42	23	10	100
	Spring, 2012	1	19	37	35	7	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	6	51	24	6	13	100
	Fall, 2009	6	51	17	2	24	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	9	50	17	10	15	100
	Spring, 2015	11	53	18	8	9	100
	Spring, 2013	11	49	18	7	16	100
	Spring, 2012	12	49	18	7	14	100
	Fall, 2009	11	53	14	2	20	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	16	55	14	5	10	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	12	58	11	1	17	100
	Spring, 2015	9	65	14	2	11	100
	Spring, 2013	7	57	17	3	16	100
	Spring, 2012	11	59	16	3	11	100
	Spring, 2011	12	60	11	2	14	100
	Spring, 2010	18	59	9	1	13	100
	Fall, 2009	17	58	8	2	15	100
	Spring, 2007	15	57	13	4	11	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	13	31	24	19	14	100
	Spring, 2015	10	37	24	16	13	100
	Spring, 2013	11	31	29	18	11	100
	Spring, 2012	12	33	26	20	10	100
	Spring, 2011	15	47	21	11	6	100
	Spring, 2010	6	47	23	5	19	100
	Fall, 2009	7	49	20	8	15	100

		Q10e. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of _____. e. NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Sweden	Spring, 2016	13	45	27	9	6	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	18	43	10	7	22	100
	Spring, 2015	19	41	12	7	21	100
	Spring, 2013	12	47	13	5	23	100
	Spring, 2012	15	47	13	4	20	100
	Spring, 2011	17	46	12	5	20	100
	Spring, 2010	18	42	12	5	24	100
	Fall, 2009	22	41	11	6	21	100

		Q21. Do you support or oppose Sweden becoming a member of NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization?			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
Sweden	Spring, 2016	45	44	11	100

		Q22a. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? a. China's emergence as a world power				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	43	37	19	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	28	49	19	4	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	25	28	44	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	23	46	26	4	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	47	30	17	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	21	45	29	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	47	27	13	13	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	56	22	17	5	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	18	53	26	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	31	43	20	6	100

		Q22b. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? b. the United States' power and influence				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	28	38	33	1	100
	Spring, 2013	20	38	42	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	25	48	25	3	100
	Spring, 2013	19	48	30	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	43	23	30	4	100
	Spring, 2013	49	16	33	3	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	23	43	30	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	21	30	43	6	100
	Spring, 2013	10	28	57	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	19	40	38	3	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	25	28	41	7	100
	Spring, 2013	23	35	35	6	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	42	23	31	4	100
	Spring, 2013	17	41	40	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	12	49	39	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	24	36	35	4	100
	Spring, 2013	22	37	36	5	100

		Q22c. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? c. tensions with Russia				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	34	47	16	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	31	52	15	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	26	24	47	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	23	49	23	5	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	34	33	22	11	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	33	50	16	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	71	23	3	3	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	39	31	21	9	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	34	55	11	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	28	54	12	6	100

		Q22d. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? d. global climate change				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	73	20	5	1	100
	Spring, 2013	54	33	13	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	65	28	6	1	100
	Spring, 2013	56	37	7	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	84	10	5	1	100
	Spring, 2013	87	9	4	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	66	26	6	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	72	19	6	2	100
	Spring, 2013	64	27	5	4	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	56	33	9	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	54	28	12	6	100
	Spring, 2013	45	37	13	4	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	89	7	3	1	100
	Spring, 2013	64	26	8	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	64	31	4	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	58	28	11	3	100
	Spring, 2013	48	35	13	4	100

		Q22e. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? e. the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	91	6	2	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	85	14	1	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	73	18	7	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	70	23	5	2	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	87	9	2	1	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	71	24	3	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	73	20	4	3	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	93	5	1	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	69	27	3	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	79	16	2	3	100

		Q22f. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? f. cyberattacks from other countries				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	68	24	6	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	66	28	3	4	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	41	25	16	18	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	48	35	7	10	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	51	29	8	12	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	50	41	5	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	56	26	4	13	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	67	20	8	6	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	52	42	5	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	55	34	5	6	100

		Q22g. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? g. a large number of refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	45	35	19	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	31	44	23	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	69	17	12	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	69	23	6	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	65	25	8	1	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	36	39	23	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	73	21	4	2	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	42	20	35	3	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	24	42	32	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	52	28	18	2	100

		Q22h. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? h. global economic instability				
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	73	20	6	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	39	50	9	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	95	2	2	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	56	35	5	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	71	20	4	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	48	42	7	3	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	64	27	4	5	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	84	10	5	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	35	56	6	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	48	38	5	8	100

		Q29. Which of these statements comes closer to your view?					
		(Survey country) should deal with its own problems and let other countries deal with their own problems as best they can [OR]	(Survey country) should help other countries deal with their problems	Neither (VOL)	Both (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	60	36	1	3	1	100
	Spring, 2011	57	43	0	0	0	100
	Spring, 2010	65	35	0	0	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	40	53	1	5	1	100
	Spring, 2011	43	54	0	2	0	100
	Spring, 2010	44	52	1	2	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	83	12	0	5	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	77	18	0	5	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	67	22	2	6	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	51	43	3	3	0	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	65	21	1	10	3	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	40	55	0	4	1	100
	Spring, 2011	40	55	1	4	1	100
	Spring, 2010	47	49	1	1	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	45	51	0	3	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	52	43	1	2	1	100
	Spring, 2011	48	45	1	4	2	100
	Spring, 2010	49	43	1	4	3	100

		Q31a. Do you think ____ plays a more important role in the world today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role or about as important a role in the world as it did 10 years ago? a. (Survey country)				
		More important role	Less important role	As important as 10 years ago	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	23	46	30	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	62	11	25	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	17	65	15	3	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	34	33	29	4	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	19	52	23	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	23	30	45	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	45	28	20	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	21	50	28	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	28	28	43	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	20	40	37	3	100

		Q31b. Do you think ____ plays a more important role in the world today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role or about as important a role in the world as it did 10 years ago? b. the European Union				
		More important role	Less important role	As important as 10 years ago	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	32	38	29	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	46	23	28	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	39	33	26	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	43	29	22	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	41	32	21	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	51	21	26	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	42	28	22	8	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	39	27	32	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	49	22	29	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	39	26	30	5	100

		Q32. Please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right.				
		In foreign policy, (survey country) should take into account the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises	In foreign policy, (survey country) should follow its own national interests, even when its allies strongly disagree	Neither/Both equally (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	43	52	2	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	67	30	2	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	19	74	6	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	44	51	4	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	36	50	8	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	50	46	2	3	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	43	42	9	6	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	47	48	1	3	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	54	42	2	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	43	54	1	2	100

		Q39. Do you think the EU should play a more active role or less active role in world affairs than it does today?					
		More active role	Less active role	About the same (VOL)	No role (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	80	16	1	0	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	74	18	5	0	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	76	15	5	1	3	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	66	21	9	1	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	77	15	3	1	4	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	58	31	7	0	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	61	14	14	1	11	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	90	6	2	0	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	73	21	6	0	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	55	33	6	1	6	100

		Q40. Now thinking about (survey country), do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or decrease it?				
		Increase	Keep same	Decrease	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	32	52	14	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	34	47	17	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	27	47	23	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	30	52	12	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	26	45	23	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	49	38	9	3	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	52	37	3	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	14	52	33	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	47	45	7	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	43	41	14	2	100

		Q43. Which statement comes closer to your view about (survey country)'s involvement in the global economy, even if neither is exactly right?				
		It is a good thing because it provides (survey country) with new markets and opportunities for growth	It is a bad thing because it lowers wages and costs jobs in (survey country)	Neither (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	51	45	2	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	70	24	2	4	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	35	57	4	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	56	34	4	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	44	44	5	7	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	72	24	2	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	48	27	9	16	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	56	39	1	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	71	25	2	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	64	29	1	5	100

		Q45. Which of the following statements comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?					
		Improving human rights around the world should be one of (survey country)'s most important foreign policy goals	Improving human rights is important, but many other foreign policy goals should be more important	Improving human rights around the world should not be an important foreign policy goal for (survey country)	None of the above (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2016	44	41	11	1	3	100
France	Spring, 2016	41	46	11	0	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	62	33	4	0	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	32	55	10	1	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	17	56	20	3	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	31	47	13	3	7	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	52	36	11	1	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	21	54	13	3	10	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	63	27	7	0	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	56	36	6	0	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	43	41	12	0	2	100

		Q46a. I'm going to read you a list of things (survey country) might do in dealing with developing countries. As I read each one, please tell me if you would support or oppose it. a. increasing foreign aid to developing countries			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	55	42	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	67	30	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	28	69	3	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	30	64	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	52	39	9	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	53	43	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	52	33	14	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	83	15	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	61	37	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	45	51	3	100

		Q46b. I'm going to read you a list of things (survey country) might do in dealing with developing countries. As I read each one, please tell me if you would support or oppose it. b. importing more goods from developing countries			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	56	41	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	78	19	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	30	65	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	46	48	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	42	50	8	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	85	12	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	46	40	14	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	72	23	5	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	76	22	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	76	19	4	100

		Q46c. I'm going to read you a list of things (survey country) might do in dealing with developing countries. As I read each one, please tell me if you would support or oppose it. c. increasing (SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY) companies' investment in developing countries			
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	67	31	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	79	17	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	47	49	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	62	32	7	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	52	39	9	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	78	19	3	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	74	13	13	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	87	10	3	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	82	17	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	79	17	4	100

		Q50a. Thinking about some issues, do you approve or disapprove of the way the European Union is dealing with ____? a. European economic issues			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	27	66	7	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	47	38	15	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	6	92	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	39	48	13	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	22	68	10	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	42	49	9	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	47	33	19	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	28	65	7	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	34	59	7	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	28	55	17	100

		Q50b. Thinking about some issues, do you approve or disapprove of the way the European Union is dealing with ____? b. the refugee issue			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	26	70	4	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	26	67	7	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	5	94	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	24	72	4	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	17	77	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	31	63	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	19	71	10	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	21	75	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	10	88	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	22	70	9	100

		Q50c. Thinking about some issues, do you approve or disapprove of the way the European Union is dealing with ____? c. Russia			
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	33	53	14	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	39	50	11	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	20	69	12	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	32	52	16	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	25	52	23	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	41	49	10	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	32	48	19	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	33	46	22	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	35	55	10	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	30	42	28	100

		Q53. Europe has had strong political and economic ties with the United States on the one hand and the nations of Asia on the other hand. Which area do you think is more important to Europe?				
		The United States	The nations of Asia	Equally important (VOL)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	56	38	2	4	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	43	41	11	5	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	51	25	19	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	50	23	22	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	60	19	12	9	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	56	34	4	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	60	13	15	11	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	57	31	6	7	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	49	43	4	4	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	53	30	6	11	100

		Q54. Thinking about our relations with Russia, in your view, which is more important?			
		Being tough with Russia on foreign policy disputes	Having a strong economic relationship with Russia	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	48	49	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	35	58	7	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	7	89	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	23	67	10	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	29	54	17	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	50	46	5	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	41	42	17	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	47	42	11	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	71	26	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	45	44	10	100

		Q86. Which statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right?			
		Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world	Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2016	44	51	5	100
Germany	Spring, 2016	29	64	7	100
Greece	Spring, 2016	29	64	7	100
Hungary	Spring, 2016	51	40	10	100
Italy	Spring, 2016	52	39	10	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2016	30	66	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2016	52	30	19	100
Spain	Spring, 2016	37	55	8	100
Sweden	Spring, 2016	47	49	4	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2016	34	57	9	100